

Message Text

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PAGE 01 STATE 155010
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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO USMISSION USUN NEW YORK NIACT IMMEDIATE

AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN NIACT IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T STATE 155010

NODIS

CHEROKEE

EYES ONLY FOR AMBASSADORS YOUNG AND MC HENRY

CAPE TOWN EYES ONLY FOR AMBASSADOR EDMONDSON

FOLLOWING REPEAT DAR ES SALAAM 1605 ACTION SECSTATE JUNE 18.

QUOTE SE C R E T DAR ES SALAAM 2605

NODIS CHEROKEE

FOR THE SECRETARY AND DICK MOOSE

DEPARTMENT REPEAT USUN AND EMBASSY CAPE TOWN IF DESIRED

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1

TAGS: PORG, SF, WA, TZ

SUBJECT: NAMIBIA: NEXT MOVES

REF: USUN 2536, SPAIN-PETTERSON TELCON JUNE 18

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 STATE 155010

1. SUMMARY: RECOGNIZING AS BEST I CAN THE PRESSURE WHICH MUST
COME FROM THE APPARENT DESIRES OF THE OTHER FOUR MINISTERS TO
GO AHEAD WITH THE NEW YORK CONTACT GROUP TRIP TO AFRICA AS
PROPOSED USUN 2532, I MUST NEVERTHELESS CONTINUE TO URGE THAT
WE DO NOT, RPT., NOT, GIVE OUR APPROVAL TO PRESENT PROPOSAL.
END SUMMARY

2. I FIND IT VERY DIFFICULT TO SEE HOW WE CAN HAVE ANY HOPE OF SUCCESS WITH THE PROPOSED TRIP IN THE FACE OF THE WARNINGS ABOUT IT THAT HAVE BEEN PRESENTED BY THE FIVE AMBASSADORS HERE AND IN CAPE TOWN. THE REASONS SUGGESTED BY THE FOUR IN NEW YORK (REFTEL, PARA 2) DO NOT DEAL WITH THE WARNINGS RAISED AND IN THEMSELVES ARE OF DOUBTFUL VALIDITY. INDEED, THEY SEEM TO CONSIST MANLY OF SOME OF THE FOUR IN NEW YORK SUBSTITUTING THEIR OWN JUDGMENTS OF NYERERE'S REACTIONS FOR THOSE OF THE AMBASSADORS ON THE SPOT.

3. IF, UNDER THE PRESENT PROPOSAL, THE NEW YORK FIVE COMES HERE FIRST, THE BURDEN OF LIKELY REJECTION WILL FALL ON NYERERE. IF THE GROUP GOES TO CAPE TOWN FIRST, THE BURDEN WILL FALL ON SOUTH AFRICA. IT SEEMS TO ME THAT THE TRIP IS LIKELY TO BE USEFUL TO US ONLY IF IT IS OUR AIM TO END THE DISCUSSIONS ON NAMIBIA IN FAILURE AND TO PLACE THE BLAME EITHER ON NYERERE OR ON SOUTH AFRICA. (AND NEITHER OF THEM WILL SET STILL FOR THAT.)

4. DTW MCHENRY'S ALTERNATIVE PROPOSAL IN THE SATURDAY AFTERNOON MEETING OF THE NEW YORK GROUP (WHICH WAS DESCRIBED IN A BRITISH TELEGRAM RECEIVED HERE THIS MORNING) SEEMS TO ME TO BE THE ONLY PROMISING WAY OUT. THIS VIEW IS SHARED BY AT LEAST SOME OF MY COLLEAGUES HERE, ALTHOUGH ONLY THE CANADIAN IS PREPARED TO ACT BY COMMUNICATING AGAIN WITH OTTAWA.

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 STATE 155010

5. AS SEEN FROM HERE, THE QUESTION OF HOW FULLY INVOLVED OTHER MINISTERS HAVE BEEN IS OPEN. WE KNOW THAT PARIS HAD NOT RECEIVED THE VIEWS OF THE DAR FIVE (DAR 2604) BEFORE MAKING ITS DECISION. WE DOUBT THAT OTTAWA DID AND I HAVE A FEELING CANADIANS MIGHT NOWNE READY TO SWING BEHIND MCHENRY'S PROPOSAL. AT ONE POINT, WHICH MAY HAVE BEEN OVERTAKEN, THE GERMAN APPARENTLY HAD ORAL INSTRUCTIONS FROM BONN TO FOLLOW THE US LEAD.

6. THE APPARENT REMARK BY SOME MEMBER OF THE NEW YORK FOUR ABOUT THE RELUCTANCE OF GOVERNMENTS TO ENTRUST CRITICAL NEXT MEETING WITH NYERERE TO THEIR INEXPERIENCED AMBASSADORS HERE (REFTEL, PARA 2 (C)) IS AS UNCALLED FOR A CANARD AS I HAVE HEARD FOR A LONG TIME. BRITISH, GERMAN, AND FRENCH AMBASSADORS HAVE WORKED VERY WELL WITH GROUP HERE, HAVE SHOWN AN EXCELLENT FEEL FOR HANDLING NYERERE, AND HAVE A SOUND BASIS FOR THEIR VIEWS AS STATED IN THE AGREED DAR MESSAGE (DAR ATYPRLM

7. PUT IN MY OWN STRONGER WORDS, THIS MESSAGE IS: TALKS WITH NYERERE BY THE NEW YORK GROUP WILL BE USEFUL ONLY IF THEY BRING WITH THEM (A) A MAJOR CONCESSION FROM SOUTH AFRICA, OR (B) AT THE VERY LEAST, COMMITMENTS ON SPECIFIC ACTIONS THAT OUR

GOVERNMENTS ARE GOING TO TAKE TO GET SPECIFIC RESULTS FROM SOUTH AFRICA. NYERERE HAS EMPHASIZED THAT HE IS A "MESSENGER." HE HAS SHOWN NO DESIRE FOR FURTHER DISCUSSION OR EXPLANATIONS. HE WILL TAKE ANYTHING LIKE THAT BADLY. THE NEW YORK FOUR MAY SEE VALUE IN THE APPEARANCE OF ACTION AND DETERMINATION. NYERERE WILL NOT.

8. WE REALLY NEED TO GO BACK TO THE DRAWING BOARD ON THIS ONE. THE AMBASSADORS IN DAR AND CAPE TOWN CAN CARRY ON A HOLDING ACTION. I SUGGEST AGAIN (DAR 2502) THAT, WHILE THEY ARE DOING SO, CONSIDERATION BE GIVEN TO THE MINISTERS THEMSELVES UNDERTAKING A FINAL ROUND WITH SOUTH AFRICA, AND, IF NECESSARY, NYERERE AND SWAPO, AS AN IMMEDIATE PRELUDE TO SECURITY COUNCIL ACTION. THEN, AND THEN ONLY, WE WILL REALLY KNOW WHERE WE STAND AND
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 04 STATE 155010

HAVE A PROPER BASIS FOR PROMPT AND DECISIVE ACTION--IF WE ARE CONVINCED THAT SUCH ACTION IS ABSOLUTELY ESSENTIAL.
SPAIN
UNQUOTE VANCE

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